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BOLSHEVISM

What Is It? What Is the Extent of Its Menace To This Country? How Can It Be Dealt With?

Statement by
RALPH M. EASLEY

To the Executive Council, The National Civic Federation.

For our purposes Socialism, I. W. W.'ism, Syndicalism, and Bolshevism are one and the same menace. While these bodies vary in their methods and machinery, they all mean the same thing: the expropriation of private property, factories, mines, farms, banks, mills, railroads, telephone and telegraph systems, etc.—in fact, the dictatorship of the proletariat—and Carl Marx's "Capitalism" ("Das Kapital") is the bible of them all. The Bolshevism of Petrograd and Moscow is only the socialism of Hillquit, Berger and Haywood in action.

But while the doctrines are practically the same throughout, the various groups promoting them cannot, as is generally believed, be dealt with by one general method—that is, by education. Some of the groups, those whose activities bulk so large in our daily papers, can be dealt with only by the strong arm of the law. Secretary Baker, in his declaration recently in Cleveland, clearly recognized this situation and promised that all the powers of the Federal Government should be used in dealing promptly and effectively with these fomenters of disorder. To talk of dealing with them through education is nonsense. Only the club of the policeman and the rifle and bayonet of the soldier can bring terror into the hearts of those terrorists; and it may be, before the thing is over, that it will require the gun in the hands of all patriotic Americans to fight this brazen and impudent attempt to overthrow our form of government and substitute the Soviet of Lenine and Trotzky. If it is so, that, I am sure that the age limit will not debar any citizen from handling one of the guns.

But while the treasonable, plottings and anarchism of these groups are what we see reported in the paper

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A. W. L. July 22, '23,

gerous as they are, they fortunately constitute numerically a very small portion of the American people. If all the socialists, Bolsheviks, I. W. W.'ites and syndicalists were counted, they would form only a fraction of 1% of our population; and, furthermore, only a fraction of that fraction is really criminal at heart. Their ignorance has been played upon by unscrupulous leaders who, by the hope of loot and by Bolshevik and possibly German money, are promoting the revolutionary movement in this country. But these promoters are not all ignorant foreigners; there are among them American men and women with money and college education. You can find the names of some of these men and women high up in the Social Registers in our large cities. It was announced in the papers last week that "a score of wealthy New York women are said to be under espionage by the Department of Justice 'because they are entertaining and giving comfort to the criminals who have been convicted of offenses against the Federal statutes'." It is also stated that "this same group of women have been financing the publication of radical newspapers which openly demand a revolution for the purpose of seizing all industries. 'Parlor Radicals' are accused of providing the funds for the publication of some of the most expensive pamphlets and booklets ever published in this city, all carrying propaganda in opposition to the American form of government. Money to pay the rental of East Side halls for the meeting of 'Reds' has come from the bank accounts of women who are active in the social world and it is said that the Department of Justice is trying to work out the method of exposure that will end the aid of the women referred to." Let us hope that the Department of Justice will not only be successful in its attempt to bring to public view and execration these educated and criminally sentimental, notoriety-seeking women but will lock some of them up, if not in jails at least in psychopathic wards. They are infinitely more dangerous and more guilty than are those poor, ignorant foreigners who are bearing the brunt of all the prosecutions. However, these women are a part of the 1% that must be dealt with by the Government. It is with the education of the 99% that we are concerned today.

And when I speak of "education" I do not mean education in the general sense in which we dispose of all the evils we have among us by the stock phrase that "education is the

cure." I mean an education that really educates. There are books and pamphlets attacking socialism and I. W. W.'ism, and big sensational full-page advertisements in daily papers attacking Bolshevism which would better have never been written. The best thing about them is that the working masses never see them. They are practically gotten up, especially the advertisements, as purely commercial schemes and are written by men with less knowledge of the question at issue than of how to scare the shekels from employers to pay for the advertisements. After eighteen years' experience in dealing with industrial matters, I feel free to assert that when it comes to dealing with socialism, the number of persons who can stand up and face the socialists in debate and acquit themselves creditably is pitifully small; while practically every socialist is a trained speaker. The average American lawyer, preacher, judge or statesman knows so little about socialist literature, tactics and philosophy that he is really a child in the hands of his opponents when he is debating the subject.

EASY TO GO ASTRAY

To illustrate how easy it is for good men to go astray when they enter unknown fields, I will read a letter sent to me as editor of *The National Civic Federation Review*, criticising a circular sent out by an important patriotic organization, which organization did splendid work in the preparedness campaign before the war and in patriotic endeavors during the war, but which since the Armistice has switched over to industrial fields, making a special drive against Bolshevism.

"I read in *The New York Times* of this morning that a representative of the National Security League has been out through the Middle West advertising the Flying Squadron idea of that League. One would think from his glowing account that the League had solved the whole Bolshevist trouble. Now I have heard some of these Flying Squadron speakers in New York and let me tell you they are a joke. In the congressional campaign last fall, in the Hillquit District, they had a man at 110th Street and Lexington Avenue who was so foolish in his talk that Congressman Siegel's brother tried to have him taken out of the District. He said: 'He is getting votes for Hillquit every night because of the foolish statements he makes.' But how could one expect intelligent handling of Bolshevism from such a source? Everyone knows that

Bolshevism is Karl Marxian socialism, pure and simple, but the National Security League puts out in its circulars such statements as the following:

'The National Security League emphasizes the fact that its efforts are not directed against socialism as such, but are confined entirely to counteracting the various un-American influences parading under the guise of socialism.

'The National Security League is definitely opposed to entering into any discussion on the economic claims of socialism. The League has no issue as a patriotic organization with the socialists on their economic doctrines, any more than with those who would uphold free trade, single tax, or prohibition.

'The League will center its attack on the issues where the Bolshevik programme is in direct opposition to American government and American ideals.'

"This seems to me a most confusing jumble of contradictions. Why the National Security League should be so squeamish about criticizing 'socialism as such' is beyond me, because 'socialism as such' is the most 'un-American influence' we have in this country, and no other influence which is worse is operating 'under the guise of socialism.' In fact, there could not be any worse influence. To refuse to attack the economic claims of 'the Socialist Party as such' and at the same time to propose to attack the Bolsheviks is the quintessence of asininity.

"Furthermore, for the National Security League to undertake to defend socialism from 'the various un-American influences parading under the guise of socialism' is another absurdity. Pray, just what are those 'influences' and organizations? To say that 'the League has no issue as a patriotic organization with the socialists on their economic doctrines,' despite the declaration of the Socialist Party in its platform at St. Louis, for helping to draft which Victor Berger has been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for ten years and refused a seat in Congress—for the National Security League to be 'mollycoddling' around such a question as that is ridiculous. It simply means that the League has no one who knows what Socialism means. Instead of money, which they are clamoring for, it is brains that they need.

* * *

"P. S.—Since writing the above I see that *The New York Sun* of to-day contains an account of a speech made by one of the prize speakers of the Flying Squadron. I quote a few of his alleged statements made at the West Side Y. M. C. A.:

'Bolshevism is a hard thing to define but primarily it is a *spirit of social, economic and spiritual unrest arising as a result of the great war.*

'War infrequently is a good thing to awaken and unify a nation. *As a result of this war a new form of government may arise which will manage the socialistic principles of a more equal distribution of wealth more successfully than the present form of government, but the Ameri-*

can people feel to-day that their republican-democratic form of administration is the best.'

"This gentleman is presumably a member of the famous Flying Squadron that is going to save the Middle West, and I am certain that the Socialist Party would be glad to pay his expenses for traveling over the country to make such statements as the above."

A SURVEY OF THE SITUATION

Before we can consider intelligently a program for dealing with socialism, let us take a brief survey of the situation and see just how formidable is our task.

Before the war, we had been suffering from a persistent, scientific propaganda from Berlin promoted by paid and unpaid Germans, together with certain American sociological experts, the purpose of which was to show the superior character and leadership of Germany in all social reform legislation and movements. Especially were socialist leaders, whose political philosophy came from Germany, and who opposed our going to war with Germany, outspoken in the claim that the German system was far better than our own. To illustrate the logical result of such teaching, J. O. Bentall, a socialist candidate for Governor of Minnesota, declared in a public speech: "What if the Germans should rule us? What do we care who governs us so long as we are well fed and happy?" Incidentally, Mr. Bentall was indicted soon afterwards and convicted for violating the Espionage Act and obstructing the draft.

Of the various kinds of political propaganda which had been sprung on the world at a cost of millions of dollars, none was so successful as this. We all believed that Germany was the ideal country and the leader in every humanitarian activity. To come from Germany or to be "made in Germany" meant that a thing was good and efficient and, generally speaking, "the last word." What a shock it was when we discovered from our official statistics and documents issued in Germany itself that just the reverse was true! A report prepared for The National Civic Federation by Gustavus Myers, the well-known research expert and historian, exploded this great German myth. I wish every one could read this book. Its scope is well indicated by the following general topics into which it is divided, referring to conditions in Germany before the war: "Oppression of the Farmers; Underpaid Workers; Industrial Enslavement of Women and

Children; Child Suicide; Shocking Housing Conditions; Chronic Underfeeding and Great Infant Mortality; The Large Extent of Pauperism; Counterfeit Social Insurance." The report shows that the conditions under which the workers and farmers in Germany lived and worked were intolerable in the extreme; that women and children worked like beasts of burden on farms, while in the cities sweatshops abounded; that the majority of workers lived in foul, wretched tenements; that they suffered from lack of food and fuel; and that they labored for starvation wages for stretches of hours unparalleled in other countries.

I will not take your time by even attempting to summarize these findings, but I will refer to two matters. In the propaganda here much was made of Germany's model homes for workingmen, quaint cottages and miniature villas embowered with flowers, which, it was alleged, would compensate the workers for any hardships. Mr. Myers's report shows that the general mass of workers in Germany, skilled and unskilled, live in what are known as "barrack tenements." These tenements are built in a series of blocks, one row behind the other, usually three to six stories in height. The gloom and foulness, the lack of light and air, the sordid barrenness of the dark rooms, the absence of baths and heat, were hidden by the meretricious over-decoration of the street exterior. American visitors and college investigators described only these showy exteriors but were eloquently silent on the fact that of the 412,000 tenements in Berlin, 37,000 had only one room, 175,000 two rooms, and 143,000 three rooms. Such are the "happy homes" of German workers.

Another subject, much exploited in this country by socialist philanthropic organizations, is social insurance, Germany being pointed out as the leader of the world in this great so-called reform. Mr. Myers shows just what the social insurance laws amount to in Germany. According to German statistics the average invalidity pension in 1913 was, omitting cents, \$46 a year—less than \$1 a week. The average sickness pension was \$48 a year—also less than \$1 a week. The average old-age pension was \$39 a year—about 76 cents a week. The average widow's and widower's pension was \$18 a year—about 35 cents a week. The average widow's sickness pension \$18 a year, and the average orphan's pension \$19.07 a year. Certainly this is not a munificently beneficial program for America to follow.

But Germany has contributed some other great ideas. Karl Marx socialism, for instance, was designed to operate in every country except in Germany—the land of Marx and Engel themselves. But it has made considerable headway in this country in places where one would least expect it.

The fields where socialism operates are too numerous to be covered in one statement, and I will confine myself to the principal ones, beginning with labor. Ten years ago Jack London, in his book, "War of the Classes," said:

"With the control of the police, the army, the navy, and the courts, they will confiscate, with or without remuneration, all the possessions of the capitalist class which are used in the production and distribution of the luxuries and necessities of life. They mean to apply the law of eminent domain to the land and to extend the law of eminent domain until it embraces the mines, the factories, the railroad and ocean carriers."

* * *

"The Socialists turned their energies upon the trade union movement. To win the trade unions was well-nigh to win the victory.

"Instead of antagonizing the unions, the socialists proceeded to conciliate the unions. 'Let every good socialist join the union of his trade! Bore from within and capture the trade union movement!'

"To-day the great labor unions are honeycombed with socialists. At work and at play, at business meeting and council, *their insidious propaganda goes on*. Night and day, tireless and unrelenting as a mortgage, they labor at their self-imposed task of undermining society."

There is no doubt that the attempt to "bore from within" was made just as London described it. But so far as the Socialist Party was concerned the attempt amounted to very little. At no time has its vote in the American Federation amounted to as much as 10%, while at the last convention, where the delegates represented 3,300,000 votes—the largest paid-up membership it had ever had—the socialist vote did not amount to 5% of the whole. Since that time the Socialist Party itself, which has only 100,000 dues-paying members, has split into three factions; so as an organization it is a negligible force.

This is speaking of the American Federation of Labor as a whole. In certain industries, however, socialism has made sufficient headway to be a menace and in some districts in the West which, from a national labor standpoint, are comparatively unimportant, it has captured whole groups. Two hundred and fifty I. W. W. agents can stir up enough trouble and make enough noise to sound like a revolution, and on a small scale

that is what it is. The needle trades of the East, the Balkans of American industry, have largely been captured by the socialists and Bolsheviks. The great rank and file of the American labor movement is not socialist at heart, but is open to and is influenced by the vicious propaganda with which it is deluged from the various revolutionary headquarters. This literature is of such a character that the average working man, or for that matter the average citizen, if he had no antidote, would inevitably be influenced by it; and there is to-day very little intelligent organized effort to furnish such an antidote.

Because a comparatively small number of business men have profited during the war, some of them criminally, the radical literature makes it appear that all employers are profiteers—that every employer is receiving anywhere from \$50 to \$100 a day out of the work of each man, making the wage-earner's \$6 or \$7, or even \$10, a day look pitifully small.

This same kind of argument has been going on for twenty years on the soap boxes. A typical case I heard last summer in front of the Metropolitan Tower. The speaker held up his hat and said: "I paid \$3.00 for this hat. The poor wage slave who made it got only 24c., while the manufacturer got \$2.76. Of course, he can afford his limousines, his yachts and his race horses."

And yet, common and ridiculous as these charges seem to be, there has been, as before stated, no organized attempt to refute them. The Industrial Economics Department of The National Civic Federation took up the matter early in 1914. Its committee was about ready to report when the war broke out and the work had to be stopped. A preliminary report was issued, however, which showed the fallacy of the soap-boxer's contentions. Indeed, when the matter was put squarely up to the leading socialists, they were themselves forced to repudiate all such figures. Instead of the manufacturer getting 90% of the value of the manufactured article, the facts admitted by the socialists over their own signature were that labor got 66-2/3%, the manufacturers receiving only 33-1/3%—not that any one of the workers received 66-2/3% or that any manufacturer got 33-1/3% out of any product, but all the workers combined in making that hat, for instance, received 66-2/3% of the value; and the 33-1/3% did not all go to the manufacturer; in fact, he did well if he got 10% out of it. Such fallacies as these should

be exposed. The fallacy in this instance consisted in the fact that, in the case of the hat, the speaker assumed that the \$2.76 which the manufacturer received was clear profit, leaving out entirely the cost of the material, the plant, overhead charges, freight, taxes, interest and a dozen other items. While the sane leaders of the American labor movement want the highest wages that an industry can pay, they also want the industry to thrive; otherwise there would be no wages.

Another fallacy that plays a great part in the socialist agitation is the Marxian doctrine that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, meaning ultimately the complete subjection to slavery of the worker. This contention has been thoroughly discredited by socialist writers themselves but the rank and file have never heard of that fact. Instead of wealth being concentrated in a few hands, it is more and more largely distributed and instead of the land being controlled by a few Bonanza farmers, there never was a time when there were so many small farmers and so few big ones.

"PROGRESS" BAD WORD FOR SOCIALISTS

One of the worst words in the English language for the socialist to run up against is "progress." Nothing so confounds the socialist or the Bolshevik who is denouncing "the terrible industrial conditions of this country" as to confront him with the facts regarding the industrial and political progress actually made. What has been accomplished by the labor movement alone is almost startling, when one considers the improvement in wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment, over what obtained even twenty-five years ago. When we see that eighty per cent of the "ill-smelling sweatshops" and the "reeking tenement houses" have been abolished and also that ninety-five per cent of all child workers under fourteen years of age (the requirements of the Model Child Labor Bill) have disappeared from the factories, mines and mills of the country, we have a showing that constitutes one of the important antidotes to the revolutionaries. The labor legislation within the last fifteen years, not even suspended during the war, is of itself a crushing argument against those who want to substitute for our institutions a nebulous form of government under the rule of a dictator of the Lenine or Trotzky type.

The National Civic Federation in 1914 began a survey of the progress made in his country in the last fifty years which would at the same time point out the evils still remaining to be remedied. This survey, also, was interrupted by the war, but it is hoped soon to bring it to completion. There are many more subjects upon which pamphlets should be written and distributed by the million, not only to the 35,000 local trade unions, but among the 20,000 farmers' organizations, and in fact all classes of organizations where socialism shows its head; for in organizations other than labor, these fallacies are permitted to roam at will.

For instance, in no field is there greater need for the dissemination of literature today than that of the Church. Early in this month there was held a meeting in New York of an organization with three hundred delegates, claiming to represent the twenty-five million members of the Protestant churches. The program of this conference was radical in the extreme. The day after its adjournment the writer received the following letter for publication in *The National Civic Federation Review*:

"To the Editor of *The National Civic Federation Review*:

"I have just come from the Conference on Industrial Relations of the Interchurch World Movement of North America, held at the Hotel Pennsylvania. I am so indignant at what I saw and heard there that I am writing to you about it before I cool off.

"I have been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church for forty years and there are seven other Methodists in good standing in my family. I deny the impudent claim that the Interchurch World Movement of North America represents 'twenty-five million Protestant Church members' in this country, because that would include myself and my family, and I am sure it does not represent any of them, if the organization stands for the radical utterances of the speakers at that conference.

"So far as I can see, there was not one representative employer on the program and the only labor man they had was a socialist. In addition to that, they had, claiming to represent the Y. M. C. A., a Russian who was either a Bolshevik or a near-Bolshevik. Not only was the solitary labor man on the program a socialist but the only person speaking for labor women was a radical, and not a labor woman at that, but a society woman, the head of an organization which, at its annual convention in Philadelphia last June, endorsed the Soviet government of Russia. Another speaker was a notorious pacifist-socialist preacher, a member of the American Union Against Militarism, the National Civil Liberties Bureau, the Liberty Defense Union, and a whole

lot of other unions, all conscientious objectors, pacifists and disloyalists. Just what influence put him up to speak before a supposedly patriotic Christian group of people? Finally, there was a former Federal Government official, whose pacifism and radicalism became so pronounced that his resignation was openly demanded upon the floor of the United States Senate.

"To assume that the Protestant Churches are represented by such people would be ridiculous; every one knows better; but if we permit them to speak for us without protest, the voice of this comparative handful of radicals will be accepted by the public as that of twenty-five million Protestant Church members, as is claimed by the promoters of the Interchurch World Movement."

BORING INTO THE CHURCHES AND COLLEGES

If the socialists did not capture the trade union movement by "boring from within," they have certainly made some headway in the churches and it is just as true that they have made headway in "their self-imposed task of undermining society" in the colleges and social reform organizations, as well as in the press. There is scarcely a university that has not socialists in its faculty, some of them being of the most radical type. The president of a university recently stated that Bolshevism was being taught in his class-rooms and that he was powerless to prevent it. When asked the reason, he replied that the socialists and their "parlor" adherents were able to raise such a hue and cry about the restrictions on academic freedom that the trustees were afraid to move. This hue and cry would be started by a body of college professors, organized under the name of the National Association of University Professors and a campaign denunciatory of college administrations would at once be inaugurated by such revolutionary organs as *The New Republic*, *The Dial*, *The Nation* and *The Survey*. The same situation has confronted the school boards in various large cities, but fortunately those boards are getting a good deal of courage and are beginning to oust some of the radicals. But there are conditions in the schools which, if generally known, would disturb every patriotic American and which must be dealt with. A cursory examination of the school histories and books on economics and sociology shows that socialist writers have been successful in introducing their propaganda even there. The insidious manner in which the Socialist teacher can do infinite harm is explained

by Professor Enrico Ferri, of the University of Palermo. In addressing the International Congress of Socialist Students and Graduates, he said:

"We should introduce socialism into the student's mind as a part of science, as a logical and necessary culmination of the biological and sociological science. No need of making a direct propaganda which would frighten many of the listeners. Without pronouncing the word 'Socialism' once a year, I make two-thirds of our students conscious socialists."

Committees of students from Yale, Harvard and Columbia have, from time to time, come to The National Civic Federation, asking for material that they could use in their publications to fight the socialist groups that were making headway among the students. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society openly boasts of the great progress it is making, giving names, numbers and dates. Four years ago I entered into a controversy with the head of that organization, denouncing it as a socialist propaganda movement. This official indignantly denied the charge, saying that the Society was organized simply for "the purpose of making an intelligent study of socialism." All the things charged against that organization at the time have since been proven true. There is no pretense now that it is anything but a socialist-Bolshevist outfit.

I could go on indefinitely, describing the situation in other groups. For instance the women's organizations are in many cases being influenced by socialist women, and some of the women's clubs, especially those whose membership is made up of the well-to-do, love to coddle the Bolsheviks. They "do want to help the under-dog," not knowing that they are only helping the fleas on the under-dog. They think that I.W.W.'ism is the labor movement and that they can get more sensational newspaper headlines by having Joe Ettor speak for them than they could by having a sane representative of the real labor movement address them.

There is a growing demand for literature and speakers for The American Legion posts which are being organized by the hundreds every week, and these speakers and this literature must be sound and sane and helpful.

The social reform organizations and social settlements, it is a common thing to say, are all honeycombed with socialism, and yet three-fourths of the workers in them are loyal Americans

who would not listen to these socialist propagandists if they had the material with which to combat them. A charity worker several years ago stated that every morning when the workers were called in for instructions by the superintendent, he harangued them on the evils of capitalism in such a way that when they went out of the room they felt more like throwing bombs than dispensing alms. Incidentally, this same superintendent is one of the men who have been selected by the Inter-church World Movement of North America to investigate the steel strike.

In the press of the country, it is the boast of the socialists that they have in every office editors who are members of their party, and from what we see in many instances this does not seem to be an idle boast. Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, as far back as 1912, in an interview published in *The New York Times*, felt so sure of his ground that he made the following frank statement:

"Only yesterday I was told by a prominent New York editor that he had among his personal friends as many as twenty socialistic editors of daily and weekly magazines, whose publications are not socialistic, but whose personal opinions are unqualifiedly so. It is easy to observe the influence of their opinions on the matter which they publish. Many of our leading magazines, especially, are advocating socialism in a veiled way. Nearly all the literature of criticism, of so-called 'exposure,' is really socialistic in degree."

What are good, loyal Americans doing to help solve the negro problem? Most of the negro press is in the hands of the socialists. There is a magazine published in New York, money for which, it is alleged, is put up by three rich women. The editors of this paper boasted to the writer that they were members of the I. W. W. and that they had an organization in their building which represented 30,000 negro soldiers who were in sympathy with their magazine.

There is a new movement or group of movements that have come to the front during the last year which, while they have certain good features, all have in common a dangerous feature. I refer to the National Community Councils, National Community Centres, National Social Unit Organization, and the various National Forum Associations. The danger spot in these organizations is that they are engineered largely by sentimentalists, socialists and radicals of all types and their proposition to organize the people in groups, units, blocks and forums, usually results in

their being soon captured by the socialists and radicals, because they are generally the only ones who will take the time to attend these meetings, and it is part of their creed to do just that thing. No good citizen would criticise the idea of neighborhoods getting together to talk over their needs and aspirations, because there are many local reforms that could be achieved in such a way, if properly directed, but we can say, Look out! See that these organizations—national and local—are in the hands of good, loyal American citizens. It is charged that certain literature put out by some of these organizations is very similar to literature distributed by the Soviets in Russia, and there are many persons connected with some of these movements who do not greatly inspire confidence. Again I say, Be on guard. Do not accept every statement made by paid promoters.

An amazing piece of impudence has developed during the last few months in the shape of a well-organized propaganda in the interests of the Russian soviet form of government, the attempt being made to convince the American people that the diabolical regime of Lenine and Trotzky has been a glorious success and is therefore worthy of adoption here. It is notorious that ex-Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. officials are speaking in churches, clubs and forums, misusing their former affiliations in a manner to strengthen their misrepresentations. It is easy to leave the "Ex" off from a title and in many cases their audiences think the Red Cross or the Y. M. C. A. is officially standing for the Bolshevik utterances of those speakers. A little calcium light on this fraud might be effective.

One of the camouflaged sideshows of the Socialist Party is an organization known as "The Freedom League," organized at a convention held in Chicago recently, called by the National League for the Release of the Political Prisoners, which league was itself organized by the Socialist Party. It is made up, as might have been expected, of pacifists, pro-German Germans, anti-English Irish, socialists and all types of radicals, who are smarting under the fact that some of them are in government prisons for violation of the Espionage Act, when in fact they should have been giving thanks that they had not all been put in prison, where most of them belong. That body announces "a vigorous campaign" in the interests of the alleged right of free speech, right of free press and right of public assembly.

This campaign should be met by an equally vigorous campaign, making clear the differences between freedom and license, between the rights accorded American patriots and those accorded American traitors.

Under another name, organized largely by the same people, appears the League of Oppressed Peoples, which will undertake to stir up this country in the interest of the minorities in India, Egypt, Ireland, China, Russia, Persia and Syria. This new trouble-making group will also need attention from patriotic Americans.

The same methods used by the socialists in their attempt to capture the labor organizations are employed by them in their attempt to capture the farm organizations. There is the same line-up between the conservative and radical farm organizations as there is between the sane and radical labor organizations. While it would seem absurd to claim that there is any possibility of the farmer becoming a socialist, it is a fact that there are organizations of farmers which are advocating programs so near to socialism that the difference is hardly discernible.

The socialist propaganda found on the stage and especially in the "movies" calls for vigorous treatment. There are theatres not only in the large cities but in the country towns where socialism and Bolshevism have been allowed a hearing through those channels.

I have touched upon a few subjects only. There are others of equal importance. I have, in this running sketch, mentioned these things simply for the purpose of placing the picture before you.

A CONCRETE PLAN

Now, you may ask, What does the committee propose as a concrete program for dealing with this situation? Briefly, the plan is as follows:

As has been shown, two things are needed: plenty of intelligent, trained speakers and tons of literature.

In order to furnish qualified speakers, a training school is needed, having headquarters in New York, with correspondence courses for the training of speakers in all parts of the country.

To supply the necessary literature requires a publication bureau, which would print and distribute millions of pamphlets

in the various organizations available for this work. For example, the 35,000 fraternal organizations representing thirty millions of men and women, the 5,000 women's organizations, the 35,000 local trade unions, and the 20,000 local farm organizations—the three latter representing another forty millions of our population—can all be reached with bundles of literature sent to their lodges or local branches, which can be distributed without cost. This is taking a leaf out of the socialists' book. They do not send matter through the mails; they send it by express or freight and have it distributed at their meetings, thus saving postage. Then there are the 110,000 preachers and 20,000 weekly newspapers, a majority of which would utilize such pamphlets. This literature must be thoroughly scientific in character but at the same time popular in style.

A highly important bureau would be one to examine and evaluate the mass of statistics relating to social questions put out by official and semi-official agencies. The socialists have wormed themselves into many Government bureaus and are vitiating many of the statistics upon which the public is forced to base its conclusions.

But fully as important in this work should be the organization of committees on the following subjects:

Labor	The College	Women's Organizations
Agriculture	The Public School	Soldiers and Sailors
The Church	The Negro	The Press
Social Reform Organizations		Foreign Groups

These committees should be formed from the most representative persons in the respective groups, with an expert secretary for each committee and the necessary staff. The committees would not only determine the character of the literature to be sent to their individual groups and assist in its distribution, but, in some cases, would be in a position to make helpful and constructive suggestions for the benefit of the groups in question. In fact, each committee would doubtless have a constructive element in its program.

I am aware that the Committee has laid out a large program. It is comprehensive and its work would be both scientific and public in character. But no attempt to deal with socialism, I. W. W.'ism and Bolshevism has appeared thus far other than the slap-dash, hip-hip-hurrah method. It is all

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